

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 •

Taiwan AD6

Formosa AD1

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THE SETTING

ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing village had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are; and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

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167 either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

[462] It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to these jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the [466] man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

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167 If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, 883 often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who 783 engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong 593 when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other [466] adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

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167 Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

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[434] While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

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178 Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and 167 children who remain in the village.

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

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Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

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Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

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Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonies they did in the village itself.

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Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

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However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

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A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

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While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

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The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

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Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

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At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

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A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

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As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to transplant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT \$20 to \$25 per day.

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Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

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Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a responsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

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Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.⁴ The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

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An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or hurried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

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OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

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516 men to pool their efforts, one of them farming their joint land holdings while the other provides the cash income, and this is, of course, the usual arrangement in the joint family. One of the men in the family, usually the father who is more experienced as a farmer, tills the family's fields, while his sons take jobs as miners or laborers. The family thus has not only all of its food provided but also a cash income to meet its other needs.

596 Not without its advantage to the joint family is the presence of
462 several able-bodied adult women. The amount of work required of women in the average village family is enormous. Aside from cooking for a large family and caring for their children, women must chop and cook the food for the family's pigs; feed and take care for their ducks and chickens; salt and store seasonal vegetables; wash the family's clothes by hand in the river; clean and maintain the house and furniture; help with the winnowing of rice at harvest time; and so forth, almost endlessly.

The advantage of the joint family is that these tasks can be shared and rotated. One woman assumes the responsibility for marketing and cooking for five or seven days, and is then free for an equal length of time during which she can sew, tend to the special needs of her children,

593 and perhaps even pay a visit to her relatives. To have time to visit
596 relatives is of particular importance to young married women who often have no friends in their husband's village and find a visit home their only recreation.

While the arrangements in the joint family have real advantages they also work to create equally real difficulties. The concept and

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

The Village

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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

Houses and Families

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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

The House of Lim

⁵⁹⁶ The police registration for the house lists Lim Chieng-cua and his
• 462 wife, Lim Chui-ieng; their six children; Lim Chieng-cua's older brother's widow, Lim A-pou; her unmarried son, Masa; her married son, Lim A-bok, and his wife; and their two children. During the two years
[602] we lived with them, the Lim family always had at least one other
[574] relative accepting their hospitality. The enormous task of providing for this large family is shared by the adult members of the household according to a careful division of labor. As the eldest male, and therefore the head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua serves as general manager, deciding when and how the family income is to be used, and, being the most worldly member of the family, he also manages the family business, the cement bag factory that employs from four to twelve village girls. Lim A-bok, a man in his late twenties, takes primary responsibility for farming the family's five or six acres of land, arranging for the sale of its produce as well. In the kitchen, Lim A-pou's daughter-in-law and Lim Chieng-cua's wife share the large task of cooking for the family, each woman taking the responsibility for five days at a time. In so far as he does anything, Masa helps his older brother in the fields. Lim A-pou's main responsibility is gathering, chopping, and cooking food for the family's dozen or so pigs, but with her amazing energy and efficiency, she also finds time to help her slow daughter-in-law in the kitchen, and during the rush seasons of harvest and planting, she works with her sons in the fields.

This division of labor enables the family to support itself much more efficiently than if they were divided into smaller nuclear family units. As he is physically unable to do heavy labor himself, Lim Chieng-cua needs someone to farm his share of the family land, and for his part, Lim A-bok has neither the experience nor possibly the temperament to run the family business. Although an intelligent man, he has not yet developed his uncle's easy and effective manner of expressing himself, nor has he the reputation as a leader in the community that this skill has brought Lim Chieng-cua. Because of Lim A-bok's skill and industry as a farmer, however, he occupies an unusual position in the community for a man his age. The farmers of the village, old and young alike, choose him to represent them in the various government and cooperative farm groups and look to him for the interpretation and evaluation of the information received from these groups. For the women of the family, the arrangement has the advantage of giving each of them a break from the monotony of

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kitchen duties as well as comparatively long periods of time they can devote to sewing, the care of their children, or even visits to their natal families. 596*
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A visitor to the home might conclude that these arrangements function quite smoothly. The family's meals are always well cooked and served at regular times; the children are usually as neat or neater than the neighbors' children; the house is kept reasonably clean and in good repair; the family's land is always cultivated and the general appearance of the fields is neat and orderly; the factory seems busy most of the time. In short, the various members of the family perform their particular duties efficiently and effectively. To see the less fortunate effects, one has to look beneath the surface of the family's daily routines. As Lim Chui-ieng once told me, "If you look at the face of our family, it looks good, but if you look at its bones, it's not like that." In the "bones" of the family there is ceaseless friction between the two major units: Lim Chieng-cua's family and Lim A-pou's family. For the most part their conflict is wordless, expressed only by the emotional distance between them, but on occasion the tempers flare, revealing the true intensity of the tensions below. To understand the conflicts that existed within these people as well as those that existed between them, it is necessary to look at some of the events of their childhood. To understand why they have resisted for so long the pressures that divided every other family in Peihotien, it is necessary to look at the domestic climate in which they grew up. 596*
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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim A-pou: A Wife and a Sister

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People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right."

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-eng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

*159 spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out
+596 of the sky?

+593 "When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around
• 462 and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to
604 cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children
578 sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than
the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little?

[231] Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped
up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to
feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of
sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that
food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My
aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be.
How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my
uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she
doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit
is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about
NT\$8,000, but instead we got only NT\$5,000 because we owed the
butcher NT\$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If
+159 he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it,
+596 but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it
+593 with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he
604 comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under
751 that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them
578 do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get
[262] the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt
took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the
bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he
had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very
healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think
so. "Huh! She ~~is~~ just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to
do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the
[24] money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in
wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult
+159 to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered
+596 bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, how-
604 ever, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all
578

+593

159 Le-cu, the cause of all the trouble, did not return for several days
596 but was finally summoned by her mother when it became apparent
593 that Lim A-pou had no intention of departing from the established
[252] cycle of responsibility for cooking. Many men make a hobby of cook-
ing, displaying their special skills at banquets and the like. We often
[462] savored some of Lim Chieng-cua's specialties, but in this situation it
would have been impossible for him to step into the breach for even
one meal, serving his nephews and children. Instead, his eldest son
managed, and managed quite well, until his sister returned to assist
him. To my knowledge, no words were exchanged between daughter
and father, but one look at her mother probably was punishment
enough. I do not imagine that Chui-ieng passed up this opportunity to
tell Le-cu what she had suffered on her behalf. For several weeks Le-cu
was a model daughter, but she avoided her father whenever possible.

159 By the time Lim Chui-ieng was moving around the house again,
548 Lau Kim-chiok had gotten a job in a brothel in Wanhua and came
back to the village once a month, if then. After a few months she
formed one of the semi-permanent liaisons which makes a prostitute's
life more bearable and sent for her daughter to live with her. Lau Bit
never returned to work in the factory. Not long after, I noticed a gayly
[302] dressed young woman, rather heavily rouged, visiting Lau Kim-
chiok's mother. My interpreter, amused that I did not recognize her,
said that this was Lau Bit. She couldn't have been much over sixteen,
but, as with so many young prostitutes, her youth disappeared with
[247] her innocence. Just before I left the village, I heard that Lau Bit had
had her first abortion.

159 Relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his wife improved con-
596 siderably after the crisis of Lau Kim-chiok's return. Although Lim
593 Chieng-cua did not appear any more attentive than usual, I think his
wife at last realized that among other things, her husband no longer
cared for the responsibilities and expenses of the kind of entertain-
ment he had enjoyed during his affair with Kim-chiok. He had not, in
fact, for years, but Chui-ieng's outrage and jealousy prevented her
from accepting this. She still complains about money and on occasion
refers vaguely to past excesses, but she is more cautious now in her
choice of words.

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed
or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or
when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities
of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually
placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vege-
tables were drawn from those that were in season. Although
many of them were grown in the village, others were pur-
chased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
- 462

[493] One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought
a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin
Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses
other than the two villages with vegetable markets and
sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei,
he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
262 ers generally felt that there had not been significant
178 changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed,
but there had been great changes in the variety used and
that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

- 252 Most village women are proud of their abilities as cooks.
- * 462 Several village men are also extremely skilled, hiring out
[463] as cooks on special occasions and almost every village man
can prepare an adequate meal. Some men cook quite often
in their homes although their wives were considered the
regular cooks. When a woman is working for wages on a job
while the man is home early, he will often prepare dinner.
Also, if a wife is sick, a man will substitute in the kit-
chen if there is no other adult female kinsman in the
household. There are only a few men who have never sub-
stituted as cooks for their wives. Nevertheless, when a
man cooks for either special occasions or as a substitute,
women will almost always clean the kitchen and wash the
dishes.

- 263 Peanut oil, ginger, soy sauce, red sauce, and
252 monosodium glutamate are important items in cooking. Most
dishes are combinations of various ingredients and spices.
It is often jokingly stated that no Chinese dish is com-
posed of less than ten items. Cooking techniques include
sauteing, deep frying, and steaming. Of course, boiling
is important for soups.

- 291 Water can not be consumed without boiling it first.
- 292 Since Sanlei was a tea processing village, tea usually
replaces plain boiled water. However, the tea is usually
very weak and of poorer grades; a single set of tea leaves
293 was reused several times. Wine or beer is for special
occasions only although there are a couple of men in the

243 In the middle of December (Solar Calendar),² after three days soaking, rice seeds for the first crop are scattered thickly on a well-prepared fertilized field. They take forty to fifty days to grow to a sufficient size for transplanting. In the latter part of January, the field is prepared. It takes one man with a water buffalo [231] about six or seven days to prepare a one chia field. While there are only two water buffalo in Sanlei village, a [435] nearby village specializes in water buffalo. A man with equipment and buffalo can be hired for \$120.00 per day or the buffalo alone may be rented for \$60.00 to \$70.00 per day. If human fertilizer (night soil) is used, a liberal quantity should now be applied.

243 Transplanting is a hard job, rated as work primar-
• 462 ily but not exclusively for men as is the other most difficult job of harvesting. All extremely hard work is considered proper for men only but there is no corresponding notion that light work should be reserved for females. At times, men are doing light work while females are doing medium heavy work. There is a bonus of five meals per day for male or female workers alike when engaged in transplanting or harvesting rice, the two jobs rated as the hardest in the community. It would take a seven to eight man crew to transplant a single chia of paddy field. However, given the small size of the fields, most work groups rarely exceed three or four adult males. The planting by

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
• 462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field
for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out
spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to main-
tain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed
by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women
[465] to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for
transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's
wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[857] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part
of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of
running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying
the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally
a third: the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and
the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.

242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] participate in rice-field activities outside their own
[474] family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an
occasional second application of fertilizer which is
available from the farmers' association for cash or for
rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no
credit facilities are available. The fields will be
sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

243 Under the best conditions, it is 110 days from transplanting to harvest although this period may range up to 130 days dependent on weather and the particular sub-variety of tsai lai rice used. Harvesting activities cover the latter part of the May through the early part of June. The usual work crew of five or six men take nearly four days to harvest a chia of land. The rice is threshed in a rotary foot-pedal machine, several of which are owned in the area, and then carried in baskets to the house court-yard where it takes three or four days in the sun to dry. The mounds of rice must be regularly turned so that all parts will be exposed to the sun. Women and children usually do the necessary raking but invariably, a man makes the decision when the crop is sufficiently dry. One [462] [857] chia of land produces about 6,000 chin (8,000 pounds) for [433] the first crop. The rice straw is bundled and used for compost or sometimes sold to brokers from the city. For the first crop, due to the shortage of labor and great press. of time, much of it is plowed under to enrich the soil.

In the meantime, the second crop activities start long before the first crop is harvested. The seeds are cast in the second seedbed in a manner similar to the first at the end of April or early in May. However, given the warmer weather, they only take about 30 to 40 days to be ready for transplanting and only about half as much seed

243 is needed, about 50 chin per chia.

The period commencing with the harvest of the first crop and ending with completion of transplanting the second is the busiest of the year. It takes a considerable number of people to harvest. By design, not all land is ready for harvesting at once, because the first crop transplanting is somewhat staggered; sub-varieties mature at different rates; and finally, the land closest to the river and road gets more heat and matures quicker than that closest to the mountains. Contributing to the shortage of labor during this period is the need to prepare the field for the second crop and transplanting. It is desired to complete transplanting in a field within ten days after it is harvested but this is difficult to accomplish. The modal time is 15 days with anything beyond 20 days considered a small disaster.

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• 462 It is during the above one month period that women are most often to be observed working in the rice fields.

In spite of strong sentiment to restrict work on rice to men only, the shortage of labor requires letting women share activities but only as a last resort. Some men who have commuting jobs in the city are able to obtain time off at this period to help with the harvest and part-time coal miners remain home from the mines and help. As far as I could tell, most of the women would just as soon avoid work in the rice field as they claim it is very hard

243 on the back. However, two features of the job are attractive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than [433] earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

824 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold
412 to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although
438 women gather and save some of the rice straw to make

245 According to percentage of yield, they are spring leaves
433 (50%), summer leaves (25%), autumn leaves (20%), and winter leaves (5%). The bulk of the harvesting commences in early April and ends in September. The 9000 trees (one chia) will produce about 1200 chin (1600 pounds) of green leaves in a year and these will be reduced to 300 chin of dry leaves.

245 Maintenance of the tea field features heavy cultivation of the soil around each plant in January and light weeding in March, June, August, and November. Sometimes plants are fertilized but this may be omitted for several years. It is felt that most insecticides would spoil the tea so they are rarely applied. The flowers necessary to produce the highest grade tea (Jasmine) are interplanted between the tea bushes.

245 In contrast with rice production which is primarily
• 462 a man's task with the occasional help of women, tea production is primarily a woman's task with the occasional help of men on the basis of total man hours committed. Men do the heavy cultivation and the planting and transplanting. The first task is male because of the previous standard based on how heavy a task is rated and the latter two because tasks which require high levels of technical skill and knowledge are always male. Work which can be learned with little effort and requires few important decisions is assigned to women. Women do most of the weeding

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245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
• 462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much
amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, \$5.00 for each 4 chin
of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin
in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for
weeding is \$50.00 and a woman's is \$30.00, any man picking
tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to \$30.00
than \$50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working
for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the \$50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor
workers both get the same \$50.00 for a day's labor, but
the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently.
Women, for other than piecework, get \$30.00 per day but
this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of
skilled village women earn as much as \$35.00 or \$40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reach-
ing women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom
any increments between \$35.00 and \$50.00, the latter step
achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[284] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event
to mark this stage which is not directly related to

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a
young man to get much work for although he must be paid an
experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and
reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold
to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to
outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in
Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite
inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.

[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on
a price basis. Relations are built up between processor
and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).

245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
• [462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of
fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives:
green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades
each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires
as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[887] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old
women. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an
old woman can easily earn \$20.00 to \$25.00 per day.

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei travel-
ing into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market,
each processor tries to build a network of regular retail
or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations.
These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a
precarious position. The tea processors and some of the
larger tea growers become quite familiar with market
conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was
formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and
once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business.
Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of
100 cases to the United States and several different vil-
lagers told us about it when asking our help in encourag-
ing the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
• [462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing
demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in
that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for
men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found
for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early
histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of
girls to pick tea (Takekoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903:
381-5). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

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462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activi-
ties but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were
brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as
Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men
about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually
stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy har-
vesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside
girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the
point that no outside teams have been used since 1949.
This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps
allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

245 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus
443 fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on
pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in
spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land
is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange
trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea
profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new
product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager
acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by
working five years in an orchard 50 miles south of Taipei.
When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising
[m] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oran-
gas by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

442 Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption
474 are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan
Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to
one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the coopera-
tive and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size)
and quality and ranges from \$2.50 to \$4.00 per chin with
an average of \$3.00.

245 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes
433 a considerable investment before any return is achieved.
Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight
years or rent must be paid for the same period without in-
come. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are re-
quired for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect
control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not in-
consequential. Much of the savings from the increased
yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is
being devoted to orchard development with high returns
expected, just around the corner.

245 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm
462 tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet
crystallized as it has for most other village tasks.
Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation
as is all skilled farming. Although males and females
alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

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• 462 perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding,
245 a man earns \$50.00 and a woman, \$30.00 but a man does not
465 appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman
462 although that is the wage differential. Both men and
women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired
to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who
245 earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is
462 neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at
piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored.
Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative
[464] is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when
the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore,
introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for
Talei women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

433 There are currently no other important commercial
245 food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two
of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers
in a divided household previously introduced in connec-
tion with the plot of land which was lost during the land
reform program, made their first try with 600 banana
trees. Returns have been good for two other villages
about three miles away. The younger brother's son was
sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the
farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e., certain weather is best for certain items. Currently, most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks, and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

23 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

313 are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

[443] A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to
[311] wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The con-
[435] tiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps
make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per
unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance trans-
portation cost.

313 Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long
[482] distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the
mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is
• [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate
adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The
[465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the \$50.00 level
of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but
\$40.00 to \$45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular
8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's
wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are
responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the
wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry
wood for their wives on the way home from some other task,
but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used
in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living
outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

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423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of
investment.

621 It is not profitable to discuss land values without
461 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its
members are capable of contributing increments of labor
which vary in accordance with age and physical condition.
There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility
or achievement of this potential for there are always per-
iods set aside for rest and recreation and certain indi-
viduals, particularly children, the aged, and often women,
are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their
physical potential. A community seems to aim at some
reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may
be raised or lowered over time.

178 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
621 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
461 ating in terms of a technological system which required
464 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
182 time, a system had developed for assigning certain indi-
241 viduals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs
and as expected, women, children, and old people were es-
pecially underemployed.

182 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
241 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor

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182 pool. As might be expected in a Chinese village, mature
241 but not aged males had constituted the majority of the
462 labor pool in agriculture. There were several potential
464 ways in which this reduction in the current labor force
could be overcome such as by an increase in population,
making more use of formerly underemployed, change to
crops which required less labor, or a reduction in agri-
cultural activities. In Sanlei, not only was the latter
course not followed, there was an increase in agricultural
activities resulting from the continuing development of
mountain land and moreover, there was no significant
change in the kinds of crops grown on the old land nor
in the technological system. The first two alternatives
were adopted. There was some growth in population and
some use of surplus adult males from surrounding villages.
But the second potential solution is the most important
for the problem considered in this paper, the use of
under-employed, particularly women. Women replaced men
to a greater degree than ever in large segments of the
agricultural activities.

While the clog business flourished, the employment
of women in additional agricultural work became routine.
When the market for hand-made clogs burst, there was an
immediate surplus of male labor. It was possible for
women to be replaced by men in agriculture but this did
not occur. Instead, some men started to go to the city

182 for work and some men became coal miners. There has been
241 some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities re-
462 sulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they
464 were not replaced by the young women who, as previously
[562] stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect
of the clog business on the village was to increase the
importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's
status.

Division of Labor

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The division of labor based on age and sex is a
cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has
been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is
no exception to this general principle for some jobs are
solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others,
heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construc-
tion are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women,
tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cook-
ing, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for
women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping
assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but
[465] the other competes. For performing the same task, women
[562] usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears
that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions
formerly enjoyed only by men.

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
262 security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
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Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the
yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family
which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
592 in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three
sons, their respective wives, and the four children of
each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The
figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and in-
clude a profit and loss statement and statement of net
worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about \$6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled
the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

511 the household are also important contributors to income by
592 means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible
• 462 for the children and cleaning for five days; one is re-
sponsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work
in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although
all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the
fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in
the village and many other pairs who share some rotating
responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to
have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiv-
ing for the family has invested very heavily in the orange
trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached
full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with
Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and plant-
[454] ed 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The
family will soon move into a much higher income bracket
but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in
land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of
Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the
[592] middle status level in the village. His household in-
511 cludes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns
463 .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges
465 but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes
24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

596 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is es-
861 pecially accentuated within a compound. Because children
wander in and out of each other's rooms (between house-
holds) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me
a long time to identify compound children with particular
nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child
as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily
596 identify which family within it. Also, although women
[621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as
grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could
have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might
prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children,
these two practices were also more extensive in compounds.
With rare exceptions, only in extended families or com-
pounds could the only adult female in a family with small
children have a whole day off to work in the fields.

[461] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the rela-
tive freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the
concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income
to a family unit.

596 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the
• 462 break up of compounds and the division of extended fami-
578 lies is due to conflict among women, the village data sug-
gests that the converse is also true for almost every
large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained
women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

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• 462 rotating work responsibilities. In other words, although
578 women may be the key to the dissolution of family structures, they may also be thought of as the essential glue which holds them together. Note that the adult male occupations in the village are quite heterogeneous, i.e., rice farmer, tea farmer, tea processor, miner, etc., while their wives' occupations in the village are relatively homogeneous, housekeeper, cook, tea picker, etc. It is much easier for a woman to substitute for any other woman than it is for a man to substitute for any other man. I do know that conflicts over men's occupations within a household lead to family divisions because each feels the other is not contributing his share (for an extended case study see M. Wolfe, 1968). Because men's jobs are so different, it is hard to determine equality whereas women's jobs are so nearly identical, this can not be a similar source of conflict. This discussion should not preclude consideration of the fact that there are many other sources of conflict in the large family household in addition to those arising over economic contributions. Nevertheless, all compounds include women who cooperate very closely with each other and all extended families include women who cooperate even more closely with each other.

596 The compound frequently acts collectively as a political or economic force in the village. This is possibly due to its internal identification as a kinship

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

- 462 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a con-
476 stant nucleus although a number of other women attach
296 themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill
for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities
will be borne by a kinswoman in her household: if she is
not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her
regular wash group.

462 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a
476 piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who
245 requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship
between a particular processor and a particular work group.
The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the
twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo
basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea.
Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort
together while chatting but, of course, it is also
[465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-
hour's instruction, anyone can earn \$2.00 to \$3.00 per

[887] hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually
performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls.
Three groups of old women constitute the regular work
teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although
quite aware that some women work faster than others. They
work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in
anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work
activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

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- 462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again,
this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups
although income is not shared. Employers from the village
or outside hire a group by contacting one member of the
group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive
type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She
earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and
prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and
for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or
even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
462 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the
time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to
bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others
jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as
cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was
previously pointed out that women in extended families
frequently share work or take turns and some women who are
friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alter-
nate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the
fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they
can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men,
usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her
same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is \$50.00 except there is an
addition of a five meal bonus when the work is trans-
planting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in
terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers
obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor,
almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers.
It is easy to keep track of records because one day's
labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the
activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered
more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five
meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities
equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

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- 462 one of their members in Sanlei, the smallest with two
476 members (3 cases) and the largest with six (2 cases).
Work groups of two men merely traded days, but in any
group larger than two members, the accounting was managed
like a bank savings account, i.e., a man deposited so
many day's labor and withdraw the same amount. It was
not necessary to see that each member balanced with every
other individually, merely that each individual's total
deposits and withdrawals matched. A man with but little
land under cultivation was permitted to withdraw his
deposit by hiring the team out and collecting their wages.
Periodically, the books could be balanced by \$50.00
increments for each day's overdraft.

- 462 However, more labor is acquired on a hired basis
476 than on an exchange basis. A typical large work force for
464 transplanting, weeding, or harvesting will usually include
a combination of paid and exchange laborers. An indi-
vidual will tend to hire the same men and be hired in
turn by them. Often, a man may hire a man for wages with
whom he sometimes exchanges labor. Many people say it is
easier just to pay a man when a job is done, a one to ten
day period, then to try and keep track of the records
required for labor exchanges. Some work is seemingly
exchanged only because it does promote a structure of
mutual indebtedness between friends. For several village
men, the amount they pay out in wages about equals the
amount they collect. The larger land holders are the

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- 462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

- 245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[597] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught
using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers
and villagers have never trusted him since. He and
his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in
social terms and both of their children are living and
[207] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off
financially by village standards and own the second
village television set which they watch alone without
guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches
the television set owned by the village store.

- 245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the
rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor
would like a larger share of the business, competition
is on the basis of establishing good relations with
sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price.
One processor is named Liao and had the major share of
business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

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Tea was added later and since the demand for labor inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not crucial to eventual production quantities. This technology is [243] unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

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[464]
This ecological and technological adjustment has been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea picking and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are [314] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to [248] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

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There is some suggestion in the literature that the woman's status has been recently elevated only by her economic contributions to the family. This contention has been most strongly expressed in some of the Japanese material (Koyama, 1959). It should be realized that the traditional literature clearly indicates that rural girls and women have always worked hard and made valuable contributions, especially in the majority of the Chinese households which were poor. The two facts of the importance of economic contributions in elevating status and the large numbers of contributing working women, although juxtaposed in the literature, are rarely logically confronted with each other. That is, no one seems to consider the logical implications of the two sets of beliefs. This is not unlike the many other examples of this inconsistent behavior we have demonstrated. The number of women who were economic contributors was always probably high for it appears that about 85% of China's population were peasants living in villages and the majority were fairly poor. There is little concrete data on the extent of female participation in general farm work but it appears to be significant. In addition to these regular contributions to the family farm work, there were agricultural specialties in various parts of China which largely depended upon the labor and contributions of women such as the silk industry described by Fei (1939) and the tea industry discussed in Chapter III. For

562 many centuries, such industries which covered large areas
• 462 of China meant that women's work constituted valuable addi-
178 tions to the farm family income. Tawney (1932:117-149)
discusses the significance of female labor in cottage in-
dustry and in small factories but provides no percentage of
male to female contributions. If the recent argument that
the contributions of females served to elevate their status
is true, then the status was elevated long ago.

121 As stated in the beginning of this dissertation,
562 because the official historical record from the past con-
tains few facts about the peasant or the nature of rural
life, we are forced to make many assumptions and guesses.
One kind of clue may derive from fiction for the fiction
which tends to endure in any society usually embodies the
ethos and values of the society. An analysis of the part
females play in most of the classical stories reveals roles
usually quite unlike the traditional normative standards
abstracted from the Great Tradition but very similar to
what we have described for Sanlei. It is argued that the
ideal normative standards of the Great Tradition for women
in China are not in accord with the facts on the actual
level for both Great and Little Traditions nor on the ideal
level for the Little Tradition, i.e., peasant men seem to
prefer a wife to be somewhat thrifty and domineering so they
can achieve success.

There is a phrase in Shakespeare which seems
appropriate, "Methinks he doth protest too much." It is